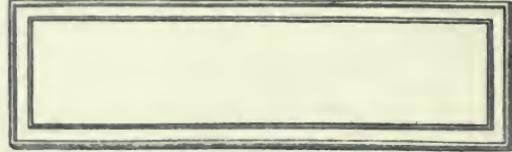
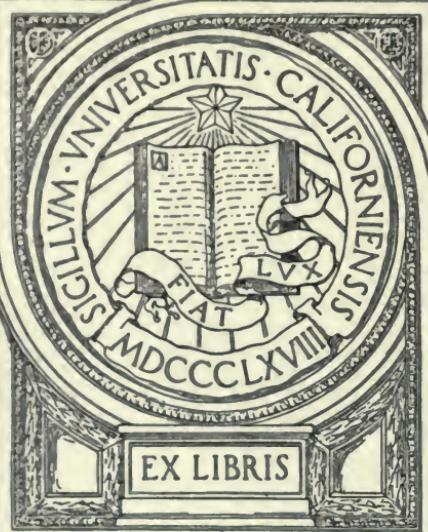


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T R A C T

ENTITLED

TRUE AND FAITHFUL

Relation of a Worthy Discourse,

BETWEEN

COLONEL JOHN HAMPDEN

AND

COLONEL OLIVER CROMWELL.

PRECEDED BY AN

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.



LONDON:

CHAPMAN AND HALL, 186, STRAND.

1847.

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P R E F A C E.

THE annexed Tract purports to be written by the Reverend Dr. Spurstowe. From the date assigned it appears as though the conversation had taken place but a week before Hampden received his death-wound on Chalgrave Field, and a short time after the promotion of Cromwell from the rank of Captain to that of Colonel commanding a Regiment of Horse in the Army of Lord Fairfax. About this time, as we are told by the Diurnals, by Ludlow, Clarendon, White-locke, and most of the other contemporary Annalists and Historians of that Civil War, great discontents had arisen in the Parliament and in

the Army against the dilatory proceedings of the Earl of Essex, who was in chief command as Generalissimo of the Forces of the Parliament, and directed in person the operations in the Midland Counties. And much discourse there was, even in the Grand Committee at Westminster, of a project for placing Hampden at the head of the Army employed to cover the approaches to London, and watch the movements of the King, whose head quarters were then at Oxford, and who held the greater part of the country from thence to the West, where Lord Goring commanded for him against Sir William Waller.

In consequence of the better discipline of the King's Troops in the field, and the many reverses which had, of late, been suffered by the Parliament's Army, the subject of a "New Model" was also in discussion among some of its prin-

cipal leaders. This had been strongly urged by both Cromwell and Hampden, even as early as the beginning of the Campaign of 1643, and was, soon after the death of Hampden, carried into effect by Cromwell.

It will be observed that reference is made in the following discourse to another which, it seems, had been held between them some time before, wherein Cromwell had spoken to Hampden of the necessity of introducing better materials and a higher spirit among the regiments. To this Cromwell himself referred, many years after, in the published conference between him and the Parliamentary Committee at Whitehall on the subject of a regal form of government.—See *Somers's Tracts*, vol. vi. p. 368.

The date assigned to Hampden's death in the first page of the following Tract is at variance with that which is given by some writers, who

describe it as having taken place six weeks after he received his wound at Chalgrave; and also with Clarendon's account, which gives the impression that he survived his wound for nearly three weeks. The Chalgrave fight, as we know from the evidence of all history and of the diurnals of the time, was on the 18th of June. That Hampden survived it for six weeks, or for much more than as many days, is sufficiently disproved by evidence in itself undenial. Observations are made in “The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer,” ending the 4th of July, and published by authority in London, on the loss which the country had incurred in his death. The *Mercurius Aulicus* of June 24, published at Oxford, mentions the report of his death; and the date of his funeral, as given in this Tract, (the 25th of June), is corroborated by the entry in the Register of Great Hampden Parish.

Dr. Spurstowe appears, from the Register of Great Hampden, to have been Rector of that Parish in 1636. Strenuous was he, and indefatigable, (we avoid the ambiguous word “untiring” as perhaps not predictable in both its senses of him as a polemical writer,) in defence of his opinions on Ecclesiastical Discipline. He was, in 1641, one of the contributors to the book called *Smectymnuus*, a Tract on the subject of Episcopacy in the Government of the Church, which gave rise to much controversy. The title of it was chosen as containing the initial letters of the names of its authors, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstowe. See a Tract entitled “*Groanes for Liberty, with a Parallel betweene the Prelacy and Presbytery*,” by John Saltmarsh, 1646.

On the execution of the Parliament’s ordinance

for levying troops, Dr. Spurstowe was appointed Chaplain to John Hampden's Regiment of Foot, called the “Green Coats.” His name is found, many years after, among the most distinguished of the controversialists of that period, and as one of the friends of the “old cause” who opposed the arbitrary measures of the Cromwells during the Protectorate, and of Charles II. after the Restoration. He published a tract called “Wells of Salvation,” in 1655, and “The Spiritual Chymist,” in 1666; during which interval he was deprived of the Headship of Katherine Hall, and of the living of Hackney, as one of the Nonconformist Ministers who were ejected in consequence of the opinions they had maintained in the Conference at the Savoy, 1662.— See *Baxter's Narrative of his Life and Times*, *Neal's History of the Puritans*, and *Calamy's Abridgement*.

Relationn of a Discourse betwene Colo-
nell *Hampden* and Colonell
Oliuer Cromwel.

Nota. In this discourse his (afterwarde) Highnesse seemeth to speake with more reluctancye of all defyre to treate with his Ma:ie for accomodationn thann in later time he shewed, when y^e jealousies had arisen betwene y^e Army and Parliament, in y^e yeare 1647. But God knoweth he was thenn sorelye tried with dissimulationn on all sydes. Soe he took upp that weaponn alsoe, awhyle, and not sparinglye; and preuayled therewith; as in dede he had at all other armes, agaynst those in conflict with him.

W. S.



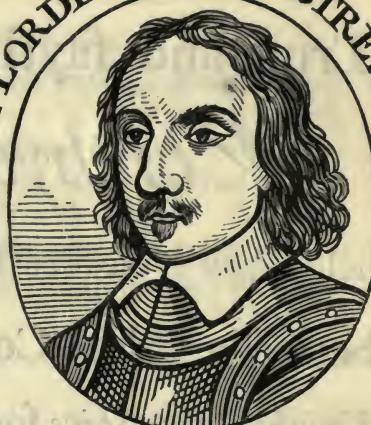
True and faythfull Relationn of a
Worthye Discourse,
held, June y^e eleauenth, in y^e Yeare of Grace 1643,
betwene y^e late Colonell *HAMPDEN*,
Knighte of y^e Shire for y^e Countye of Buckingham,
in y^e presente *Parliament*, and Colonell
OLIVER CROMWEL, Burgeſſe
for y^e Towne of *Cambridge*,
in y^e fame.

VESTIGIA NVILLA RETRORSVM.



Colonell John Hampden.

THE LORDE IS OURE STRENGTHE.



Colonell Oliver Cromwel.



*True and faythfull Relationn of a worthye dis-
course, helde, June y^e eleauenth, in y^e yeare
of Grace 1643, betwene y^e late Colonell
HAMPDEN, Knighte of y^e Shire for y^e
Countye of Buckingham, in y^e p'sente Par-
liament, and Colonell OLIUER CROM-
WEL, Burgeſſe in y^e ſame for y^e Towne of
Cambridge.*


Nn y^e twentye fifth daye of June,
1643, I, *William Spurſtowe*, Min-
iſter of y^e Worde, followed to y^e
Graue my moſte reuered friend
and benefactor, Maſter *John Hampden*, who
departed this life on y^e 23^d of y^e ſayd moneth;
Lorde of y^e mannour of his name, and Colo-
nel of foot in y^e Armie of y^e Earle of Essex,
His

True and faythfull Relationn

His Excellencie, Lorde Generall of the Parliament's forces, and commanding in these partes. The Bodye was receaued at y^e Church by Master *Robert Lenthal*, Minister of y^e Parrish of *Great Hampden*, and followed by noe small compayne of Souldiers, Countrye Folke, and Gentrye; y^e palle being borne of six; viz: Colonell *Arthur Goodwyn*, Mr. *Richard Greenvil*, (Sherriffe for y^e Countye,) Mr. *Tyrrell*, Mr. *West*, and Dr. *Giles*, (Minister of *Chinnor*,) and myselfe; y^e two last named hauing bin with y^e deceased Colonell at *Thame*, in *Oxonshire*, during y^e dayes in which he languished of his hurte receaued in y^e fight near *Chalgrave*, and at his death. “ *Quis desiderio fit Pudor aut Modus.*” It is well sayd, in y^e *Kingdome's Weeklye Intelligencer* of y^e weeke last past, ending y^e 4th of y^s *Julye*, “ The losse of Colonell *Hampden* goeth neare y^e harte of euerie man that loues y^e good of his *King* and Countrye, and makes some conceaue little content to be in y^e armie, now that he is gone. The memorye

memorye of this deceased Colonell is such that in noe age to come but it will more and more be had in honour and esteeme. A man soe religious, and of that prudence, judgement, temper, valoure, and integritie, that he hath left fewe his like behinde him." Nor, in y^e heauiness of this soe fadd a losse, can my harte finde greater solace, (after y^e inward consciousness that this good Champion of *God's Truth* and y^e nationn's Liberties nowe resteth frō his labours in y^e Mercye and fauour of *Him* whose painefull seruante he was,) than in y^e calling back, as it were, to life and companionnshipp those sweet and godlye wordes of his, to soe manie of which, in y^e priuate conuerse whereto he condescended with me, my remembrance may faythfullye beare witnesse. " *Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas.*" And I haue done this for y^e better refreshing thereof, and that my children may beare in minde some paf-
fages of this soe worthye gentlemann's discourse, euen in y^e forme and fashionn as they fell frō him;

My motiues in
y^e doing here
of.

True and faythfull Relationn

him; and, peraduenture, (after y^e presente troubles of y^s lande may, thrō God his mercie, haue bin healed, and y^e seale of priuitie under which these things were spoken shall, by y^e cancelling acte of Time, be worne awaye,) they may make y^e fame more fullye known, for y^e illustracionn of him who did honnour their father by admissionn unto it.

It was on a fayre euening of y^e eleaueneth of y^e moneth of *Junelast* passed, it beeing y^e *Lorde's Daye*, and well nigh y^e funn setting, that Master *Hampden*, (hauing, on that morning, ridden with me frō his quarters at *Watlingtonn* to his own house, not more than some twelue miles distant, and hauing there encountered, by concerte and appointment, as it seemed, with his two Kinsmen, Master *Knightelye* of *Northtonshire*, and Colonell *Oliuer Cromwel*, freshe come frō y^e countrye helde by y^e *Fairfaxes*, neare *Yorke*, to sojourne for a space with Master *Russel* at his house of *Checkers* harde by,) for y^e firste time meeting, since y^e *Lorde* was pleased to remoue to her rewarde that moste excellēt & Vertuous Ladye, Mistrefse *Knightelye*, y^e dearlye and deeplēy be-

by,) walked forth, with Master *Cromwel*, thrō y^e woodes out upon y^e hill of *Greene Haley*, which lieth by y^e roade into *Oxonshire*. Thither y^e Dragooner in chardge of their horses had bin appoynted to followe, when y^e houre should come for y^e departure of these Colonells to theire seuerall commands. And I, knowing that, in y^e stresse of manie houres conference before held in y^e upper Librarye, all dining had bin cleane forgotten, or for y^e most parte prætermitted by them, and judgeing that to those with whom an euentide journey was like to be but a hungrye conclusionn of y^e daye's fast some small refectionn might not come amisse, thought it fitting to carrye somewhat in that sorte unto y^e Colonells there. Seeing them still, as it seemed unto me, engaged in ernest and weightye converse, I stood awhile aparte; and soe remayned; untill Master *Cromwel*, espying me, broke off; and, running towarde me, merrilye, with a "Hey now, Master Preeste, truste me, thou hast somewhat in thy fiste more seasonable than

loued Daugh-
ter of Master
Hampden.

Gamesome
carriage of
Master *Crom-
wel*.

than Psalme or Sermonn;” plucked me down uponn y^e graffe; and, casting himselfe by me, called uponn his cosen *Hampden* to doe y^e like, and sit there with him, “not unthankfullye,” sayd he, “at y^e table which this chosen *Leuite* of y^e house of *Israel* hath spread in y^e Deserte of y^e Wandering, euen in the Wildernesse of y^e hill countrye.” Then, after a short and perfunctorye meale, not without a louing-cupp, pledged by Colonell *Cromwel*, (whose gamesome carriage I, not hauing, before, bin in his compayne, and knowing him onelie by reporte as a graue and stedfaste labourer in y^e good cause, did deeme not a little noteable and strange,) these gentlemenn pursued their discourse; which I, (being by them courteousflye admitted to be a silent witnesse thereof,) did, while y^e memorie was yett freshe, for surer retentio[n]n, sett downe in writing. It was, in forme, and verie nearelye in y^e wordes, as followeth.

“ And

“ And now,” sayd Master *Hampden*, “ marke me well, deare Cosen; (for I would not haue you thinke I spake lightlye, or in haste, erewhile, of a matter that toucheth Us all, and y^e Great Worke, soe nearlye;) what I made bould to throwe out, a while agoe, for your better judgement, is a thought not newlye sown within me, but which, in dede, took roote euen at y^e beginning of last Autumn’s Campaign, and hath shrewdlye ripened under y^e stresse of this Summer’s hott encountering. We entered, Colonell *Cromwel*, on this worke with much and verie weightye thoughte; after long enduring, and not without prayer. And you, and I, and all of Us, onn whom hath fallen y^e chance to beare a forward parte in y^s great controuersie, and to be, under *God*, y^e mouers of his poore people of y^s realme therein, fawe well y^e streightes into which ill men had runn y^e vessell of y^e publick weale, nigh euen to y^e foundering; and that our dutyes, owed unto y^e people’s safetye, left Us noe other waye to disentangle from besetting rockes

Colonell
Hampden
speaketh.

Prouocatiues
unto Parlia-
mentarye re-
sistance.

Euen unto
Warr.

rockes and whirlepooles y^e priuiledges which our fathers and brethren had giuen Us in chardge, but by standing forth into y^e open Sea; yea euen thō, perchance, y^e darkest stormes, and sufferings, and perills of Ciuill Warr should be before Us. When y^e King, by subsidies wrested wide from y^e purposes for which y^e Parliament had granted them, by contributionns leauied under Priuie Seales, and by loanes and succours frō malignantes, by bargaynes with renegade *Scotts*, truce with y^e *Irishe* Rebells, and inpourings of wilde clubbe men from *Wales*, (dealing with all y^e elements of mischeif in three Kingdomes,) nay, (under fauoure maye I add,) countenance and Ayde too frō some of a farr better sorte, Gentrye and men of honnour, who long had stood for Libertye in *Parliament*, but who, onn declarationn of Warr, claue to what they beleaued to be y^e cause of y^e Lorde's Anoynted; when, I say, y^e King unhappilye issued his Commissionn of Arraye, (defensiuelye encountered by our Ordinance to y^e Associated Countyes,) we

we saw y^e whole perill before us. Great meanes, great powers, great appliances; arms, pouder, fayre store of moneye, nay Garrisonns, already in opposing handes. We saw all this. But, hauing putt our handes to y^e plough, we looked not back.

Dangers and
disaduantage
in y^e f^d Warr,
not unfore-
seen.

Yett one thing hadd we, moste of Us, stil to learne, good Kinsmann. The warrlike spirit and high bearing of y^e Nationn fauoured much y^e aduerse partye. I meane not by this y^e mere crafte of Warr, brought in among Us from y^e Schooles of *Germanye* or *Sweeden*; nor yet y^e ualour, prudence, or readynesse, which leadeth to aduantage in y^e fielde. But what I meane is those excitements, how unreasonning soeuer, whereby menn in battaglia are greatlye stirred. The Spurr, as it were, in y^e fides of an hoste with an Enemye in front; and esteemed by y^e mere vulgar in y^e conflicte euen as thō they in dede were what had moved y^e more reflecting forte unto y^e undertaking. Arguments presented which speake soddainelye and winnelye

Recounteth
aduantage
plainelye on
y^e King's fide.

ninglye to y^e sense; y^e Crowne of *Englande* on a hedge stake, and y^e like; the verie trumpett of y^e herald, that soundeth in their eares, hung with y^e Royall Blazonnrye; and y^e pen-
non of y^e gentleman y^e fame under which his
anceftour went to battle at y^e King's fide.
Nay; worse than images hauing noe reall im-
port, or than familiar wordes whose reall import
is abused. Vice, and Violence, as well as
Vanitie, maskers in y^e pageaunte; and made
to paſſ in dresses of a fashionn hardlye leſſe
commended. The lemann's fauour, y^e plunder
of y^e poore, y^e hottest passionns, lawlesſe loue
and lawlesſe hate, haue high and stirring watch-
wordes of their owne, wherewith to crye loud-
lye and cheerfullye to y^e Souldier. We haue,
on our parte, but graue and stubborn memo-
rye of rightes inherited, and wronges endured.
Nay, wronges, for y^e moſt parte, nott ſoe much
endured as plainelye menaced. Priuiledges ſett
at nougħt by leauies of troopes and of moneye,
without conſent of *Parliament*; freedome of
ſpeech

*Disaduantages,
contrariwyfe,
on that of y^e
Parliament.*

speech denied; and libertye of conscience scared into a secrefye befitting onelie Sinn and Shame; or openlye reviled and persecuted, if it stande forth in y^e light and broad path of y^e open world.

These be things, whereto we, and such as we, cann in noe wyse patientlye conforme ourselues. And these haue moued our hartes to that we knowe to be a righteous reuolte; not agaynst y^e *King*; but agaynst y^e tyrannie of his ill aduisers, who would ouerturne y^e free Monarchie of this lande, and sett upp in its place an arbitrarye rule, before unknowne therein. These, I repeate, are graue and weightye motiues, among menn who haue well scanned and pondered themm; but are noe fierye incentiues to y^e Souldier in y^e field. Besides, this may be sayd in your hearing, Kinsman and Frende, and in hearing of this worthye Minister, a discrete and silent witnesse of y^e priuatest discourse of frendes, (and who well knoweth it, in what himselfe hath seen,) wee lacke those infusionns

Hee doth, in
dede.

True and faythfull Relationn

infusionns in our armie, which might giue our verie troopers to understande they ride in companye, not onelie with honnest menn, but with Gentlemenn alsoe."

Colonell
Cromwel
speaketh.

Reprehend-
eth Col:
Hampden, as
thō swallowed
upp of y^e
Vanities of
lineage and
herauldrye.

Lorde *Brooke*
did well; in
noe wyse gor-
geouslye
cladd.

Likeneth my
Lorde to y^e
leane Kine
and scurye
cares of *Pha-
roah* y^e King.

Looke for
helpe onelie in
righteous-
nesse, valoure,

Cromwel. " Nay, Godamercye, goodman *John*, what maggotts art thou a breeding nowe? Thou speakest here as a verie King at Arms; with thy *Saxon* Pedigree and *Norman* Surcoate; as thō y^e emptye scroll were a stoute leading staffe, and y^e purfled blazonn were harnesse of righte goode sworde proof. *Faddle*. *Brooke* fought well, and was well followed too, under his steele gorgett, and coate of Buff; and y^e bullett frō S^t *Chadd*'s, I trowe, would not haue turned awaye, albeit his capp of mayntenance hadd bin upon his hedd. Remember, y^e leane kine of *Pharoah* did deuoure y^e fleeke and greasie fattlings of y^e herde, and y^e ranke eares of Corne did bowe before y^e thinn and ill-fauoured. Truste me, if we doe looke for helpe at all, saue onelie in y^e righteoussnesse of our Cause, and y^e valoure of our fide, and y^e fauinge

fauinge healthe which cometh not of y^e arm of fleshe, we be sitting but on addled egges, the which, after much adoe, shal come to nought. Pardon y^e brewer of *Huntingdon*, if he speake his minde soe bouldlye to y^e greate Parliament Driuer of *Westminster*, and y^e Shepherde King of y^e *Chilterns.*"

and y^e fauing
healthe frō
aboue.

Hampden. " Nay; gibe not at my poore witt, good *Oliuer*; and spare me, praye, thosē tweakes and bobbes; the which, indede, enforce not argument; nor yett are answers unto it. If thou wilt fauoure me soe farr as rightlye to recall what I haue striuen to expresse, then shalt thou admitt to me I spake not of y^e Vanities anie more than of y^e Vices of thosē who be in arms agaynst us, as beeing things mete for us to covett, or to copie; nor yett of herauldrye, or y^e vayne glorye thereof, as being weapon of auayl either to wound or warde. The gallant and true hearted *Brooke*, of whom thou spakeſt; I will speake of him too. Under his leathern

Colonell
Hampden
speaketh.

Excuseth
himſelfe, and
remindeth
Col. *Cromwel*
of whatt
truelye he
fayd.

Coate

Coate and iron Jack, (y^e nobleſt beariſgs anie man can ſhewe when his countrye hath taen y^e fieldē,) he was noe worse, I doe ſubmitt, for that he had ſome bloude within him that might not blenche euen before y^e fixteene quarterings of y^e *Palatine*. But he is gone to y^e greate rewarde of a blameleſſe life and honnourable death. And forelye doe wee miſſe of him. What I ſayd, Cofen, or did intende, is that y^e pietie, and honneſtie, and reſolutionn, of y^e leaders doe euer neede ſome ſhorte and readye course, (ſuch indede as *Brooke* had found,) into y^e ſpiriſts of them that followe; thrō which to runn; warme too as in y^e hartes of thoſe whoſe cuſtom of deliſeratiōn doth in noe wyſe abate y^e earneſtneſſe of their zeale. That we beginn to fayle in authoritié, like what y^e leaders of y^e aduerſe partye holde, by eaſyer meaſns, tho artificiall. That, hence, we lacke celeritye, and unionn; and y^e cauſe languiſheth throughout. My proofes are what, to our greate grieſe, you knowe, and ſee, more clearlye than I, in my poore

poore waye, can leade you to confesse. The streeame of War runns harde and strong agaynst Us. Defeate upponn defeate; defectionn onn defectionn. I speake not now of y^e falling off of some, our fellowes in counsell, our familiarr friends, and kinsmenn, *Cromwel*, newlye brought in questionn; how grieuous foever and presente alway to our hartes. *God* send them a good deliuerance frō that guilt. But I speake here of more generall grieves. For manie moneth's space, *Englande* hath bin filled with bloude. Her townes, naye houses, made garrisonns. The selfe same ground foughten ouer manie times. More sieges than citties; more skirmishes than fields. And yett is that succeſſe, which we had hoped for from a ſhort fierce ſtrugge, as remote as when y^e *King* of *Englande*'s ſtandard was firſte rayfed, and his fworde drawn forth, agaynst her people and her lawes, in *August* laſt. Nay, more ſoe; as it appeareth. Well and manfullye did we enter onn our dutyes. Lazie-lye and mournfullye doe we pursue them. What was

Alacke for y^e
back ſlideings
of Master Edmund Waller,
and Alexander Hampden.

The Lorde his
great mercyes

shewed Us-
wardē.

Edge Hille.

Ay. and
handes too.

Dutch Gold,
and rauening
Armada of
Lorrainers,
preuented.

was y^e iffue of that Autumn's and Winter's worke? *Warwicke, Bromicham, Couentrye*, hadd brauelye stode y^e assault, and rowled it back from their walls upon y^e enemye in y^e open Countrye. The Armie Royall, atour first pitched encounter, broke down, like a water-cloude uppon Us in *Keynton Vale*. We draue them, agaynst uantage ground, home to their lines agayn; soe mangled, thatt their hoste, which, euen frō *Shrewsburie*, had raced with us for y^e prize of *London*, was fayne to betake it selfe, by yett more hastie marches, to shelter in y^e walls of *Oxford*. *Redding* had fallen to Us. *Hull* was releaued. *Waller* was victorious in y^e West; and y^e *Fairfaxes* in y^e North. *Portsmouth* and *Plymouth* were y^e eyes of y^e Comonwealth towarde y^e Channell; and *Warwicke*, with a mightye fleete upon y^e Easterne Coaste, staunched y^e in flowing of *Dutch Gold*, designed to feed y^e King's battel, and frowned back y^e Armada of *Lorrainers*, readye whetted for inuasionn. And what now? Our fleete truely doth keepe y^e Sea; but y^e armed

armed destructionn cometh uppon Us frō within. Not a line of postes doe we holde but an Ene-
mye is behinde, or breaketh thrō where he
listeth, to rauage y^e countrye betwene Us and
where y^e *Parliament* is fitting, among trayned
bandes daylie mustering for y^e alarum to calle
them to defende theire barricadoes. *Redding*
is surrendred; and y^e *King's* troopes hould
y^e passe betwene Us and y^e West. There, *Waller*
hath muche adoe to keepe y^e field, euen agaynst
drunken *Goring*, and madd *Wilmott*. *Bridge-*
water and *Barnstaple* are in their handes; and
Exeter, *Taunton*, and *Plymouth*, are beleaguered.
Lorde *Fairfax* and his gallant Sonn can, as
Thou knowest, but poorelye looke on at fan-
taстicke *Newcastle*, and y^e Gentrye of y^e North;
who are in strength, euen to y^e gates of *New-*
arke. The *Scotts* are motionlesse. With small
care for our concernementes, or for y^e aduance-
mente or maintainance of ciuill Libertye within
this realme; nay more, (I speake my priuateſt
thoughtes,) contrariwyſe, diſſaffected both to
our

We are chaf-
tened nowe;
in loue, as our
trufe is.

Questionneth
y^e trutewor-
thyſſe of y^e
Scotts.

True and faythfull Relationn

our Cause and Us. Exemptionn frō the impositionns of *Laud's Seruice booke*, and integritie of Religious Gouernance for theire Nationn, (as in y^e *Bishopp's Warr*, soe now,) is all wherein they doe beare sympathye with Us. They tender Us theire ayde, ay, and will giue it, all y^e more freelye in proportionn as we doe neede it lesse. They play for Time, with y^e termes of theire Couenante, and haggle for a subsidie, as theire price for mouing towarde Us. Wherfore? Because of our slowenesse, and theire misgiuings of y^e issue. Here, among these small and scattered postes, but little more than a daye's march frō *London*, we haue scantlye powers enow, or soe handled, as to stopp y^e Prince *Palatine* and his troopers; much lesse to punnish theire nightlye maraudings in y^e countreye we houlde. And, euerie where, y^e ruine of our Cause is all y^e more in hazarde, since y^e publique apprehensionn doth augure little lesse.

We lacke energye, *Cromwel*. We lacke, therefore, y^e truste both of y^e Souldiers and y^e people.

We

Slow we are
in dede; and
in harte too;
y^e *Lorde*
quicken oure
heauiness.

We must take y^e houfe to peeces, with good cautionn, but noe delaye; and rebuilde it quite; thō using, for y^e moste parte, y^e old materialls, or of y^e selfe same quarrie; but onn a modell worthyer both of them and of y^e worke in hande.

You doe not well, good *Oliuer*, to twitte me with my notionn of pouring in a loftier spiritt, and more wholesome elementes, to y^e compositionn and conduct of our Armie. For fewe things are there that thou sayest, Kinsmann, which escape good note from him who knoweth how profitable they be to retayne. Thou, first, did'st putt me onn this waye of thinking. I doe remember well, euen before this daye, how you spake of our regimentes, as made upp, sayd you, for y^e moste parte, of olde decayed seruing menn and tapsters, and such kinde of fellowes; while theire's are of gentlemenn's younger sonns, and personns of qualitye; adding that we must haue menn of a spiritt likelye to goe onn as farr as gentlemenn will goe; or else be beaten still. I told you then, Cosen, I thought you

y^e houfe to
be taken to
peeces, with
good heede,

and rebuilded.

Soe indeed it
appeareth; as
His Highnesse
did after-
warde confes
in y^e confer-
ence holden
at Whitehall,
in April,
1657; and as
published by
authoritie.

you spake a good notionn; but impracticable. It may be I spake not all my thoughtes in this. Meethinkes I see a Remedye, thō not easie to be entered onn without more authoritie than perchance anie one or two, of whateuer creditt, might bring to ripenesse; inasmuch as it requi-
reth a generall confente of all."

Colonell
Cromwel
speaketh.

Noe putting
off. Noe re-
mora.

Marke this.

Cromwel. " If I doe spy thy meaning, nowe, I warrantee thee my notionns jumpe with it Truelye somewhat in this sorte haue I defyred, as verie needfull. And, furthermore, frende, am I in agreement with thee that it cannot fit-
lye brooke delaye. Soone done, best done, was euer a good saying. As touching y^e gentillitie, we will not dispute. Of y^e spiritt I haue much to speake. And hugelye pertinent unto y^e matter now in hande. The newe modell, I grant, preffeth. Ay and more. Fitter handes are a wanting. Fitter to guide. And noe where more thann here. I speake not now of y^e *Fair-*
faxes. Noe; nor yett of *Manchester*; nor of our
goode

goode *Waller*; noe, nor of *Skippon*. The *Lorde* knoweth I doe not. I knowe not of a suretye that I speake of anie particular mann. Thō I haue, sometimes, hadd my thoughtes of this one, and of that. The *Lorde* shall declare, in his good time, who are y^e chosen vessells for his glorie, and his people's conforte. But there are better and worse to leade herein. Stronger, and weaker. *God* shall judge. But, truelye, y^e Counsell of Warr are godlie menn; and not without theire discontentes, as I am tolde. Now, euen here; in this mid pathe, as thou fayest, betwene y^e *King* and *London*; All menn knowe that thy voice, Cosen, hath bin euer for a better ordering, and a liuelier prosecutionn of y^e Warr thann it hath pleased y^e *Lorde* to commende to y^e hartes and understandings of some, peraduenture, who are in higher places thann thou art, *Jack*. I speake it to noe man's prejudice or disprayse; *God* wott. But as y^e Counsell at *Westminster*, nay and y^e Armie too, speake of thee, *Jack Hampden*, and of some others, known to them

Noe truelye;
but of another,
I trowe; in
higher
chardge, and
nigher, thenn,
unto them.

them and thee, but helde in lesse esteeme,"—
(and heere Colonell *Cromwel*, drawing his cosen
to him, did addresse a fewe wordes, whisper-
ingelye, notmeant for me to catch; nor, in dede,
would I haue sought to doe foe; seeing they
were not for me. Nor what they were doe I
knowe; thō I haue my thoughte. This, how-
soeuer, I knowe; that Colonell *Hampden* turned
him haftilye awaye, and thus resumed.)

Colonell
Hampden
speaketh.

Hampden. “Cosen, your good opinionn of
me, and thatt of others, is one of manie benefitts,
for the which, thō not unthankefull, I muste re-
mayn an unprofitable debtore. I render, in
dede, moste hartye thankes to that good for-
tune which hath giuen to me y^e loue of those to
whom I cann render noe further returne, saue
what is riche in affectionn, butt poore in meanes
of seruice. This debt it is to my profitt, in dede,
to acknowledg; since y^e acknowledgment
thereof is, it selfe, a plea for y^e encrease of my
generall creditt. But, I praye you, forbeare to
wander

Craueth to be
excused frō
giuing eare to
y^e fayd last
infusionns of

wander frō the matter whereto I would listen more readylie than to anie other; as touching y^e newe modell and discipline and spiritt of our armie; the which, leauing other things to those chardged with themm, cannot but be gaynfuller for one to be possessed of who hath y^e conduct of a regimente in y^e field."

Colonell
Cromwel;
and returneth
to y^e matter
of y^e newe
modell.

Cromwel. "Thou haſt verilie a waye with thee, *Jack Hampden*, which others, (I ſaye it to thy face,) doe alſo note in thee, of putting a mann off from y^e verie nerue and quicke which hee moſte willinglye would touch; when it fitteth not thy humoure to entartayne y^e fame; pinning him downe, as it were to y^e *quod libet* of thy choyce. Well. The *Lorde* judge betwene thee and me, *Jack*. I doe but followe as thou leadest; and, therefore, leauing y^e matter of a better ordering and appoynment in high places, (on which, in dede, I would fayne haue possessed thee of ſome fanfyes of mine owne,) to ſpeake of y^e spiritt, which, had I my will, I would

Colonell
Cromwel
ſpeaketh.

What spiritt to
fill y^e mindes
of y^e fouldiers
withall.

y^e *Lorde*, and
his strengthe.

would fill y^e mindes of y^e fouldiers withall; and wherewith, as I conceaue, we must make head agaynst y^e rowsing clamoures of y^e Cavaleeres. I wolde haue a righte infusionn of y^e watchworde of y^e *Lorde*, and his strengthe, good Cosen. It sufficeth not that ye seeke y^e *Lorde* in the closett onelie, or y^e tente. Ye muste rayse your voyce among his scattered flocke, and speake aloude; yea euen as a gospeller and choson vessell of his grace. Why, thinke ye that those, my obedient Lambes in y^e *Lorde* and firstlings of his flocke, Ironsides, as by some men, pleasantlye, they are called, (and truelye they be, after theire minstrye, of noe unprofitable leauen,) thinke ye there is one of them who, when he layeth hande to hilte, bleateth not his texte or psalme, or, when he bloweth y^e match of his carbine, bloweth it not with y^e breth of conforte, which is of holynesse, that cometh in good seafonn on y^e drye places of *Israel*? There is not one that filleth saddle with me, but, in y^e tabernacle of y^e fleshe, how

ill fauoured soeuer, is, according to his estimationn, uerilie of y^e Saintes of y^e earthe, whose garmentes smelle of y^e sweete fauoure of godlyenesse. And I haue cried out to them, euen unto theire penetralls, as I haue receaued strengthe; and they haue not fallen back, but haue chardged home. Be the Glory His and noe other's. The sworde of y^e *Lorde*, and of *Gideon*, is your onelie weaponn of endurance agaynst y^e Childrene of darknesse, yea y^e fierce dint of *Rupert*'s troopers, with theyr closed uisors and corselettes of *Almayne* prooфе.

But some small swordecrafte alsoe, in y^e use thereof, hath bin infused. I saye it thankfullye. *Hoffermann* y^e *Leipfigger*, late slayne, with me, before *Gainsbro'*, had greate worshipp as teacher of y^e sworde-playe.

What thinkeye now, mann? This, I warrantye. If I speake altogether thus in y^e publique eare, as now in thine, *Jack Hampden*, and in that of this painefull preacher here, belike I might be held, thō unjustlye, to my prejudice, to be but

y^e sworde of
y^e *Lorde* and
of *Gideon*.

“Painefull
preacher.”
And truely,
as is my hope.
So may I not
be puffed upp
of y^e fame.

but as one that carryeth his godlynesse into y^e markett of worldlye policie and profitte."

Colonell
Hampden
speaketh.

Hampden. "In sooth, Kinsmann, such might, perchance, be y^e conclusionn drawn therefromm by some menn; and, meethinkes, not whollye without some colour of likelyehood. Thine endes be honeste, I doe beleaue, *Oliuer*; but thy wordes, be assured, doe thee much wrong. Thou haft bin euer a faythfull partner, nay more, in manie thinges a trustye Counsellour, to thosse who haue walked, side by side with thee, along a toylsome pathe; and noe peruerter of y^e honest Truth which we haue striuen, thus farr, to followe. Nor wilt thou euer, it is my hope, doe such dishonnoure to thyselfe and it, (as some, euen in Counsell on our side with us, haue bin, unhappilye, much giuen to doe;) making publique shewe of more than hath warrantye in conscience or y^e undisguised current of familiarr discourse. For, soe, wouldest thou be, manifestlye to thyselfe, at oddes with y^e true

Reasone of
y^e making of
false shewes.

true and sincere seruice thou hast bin called to fulfill. And, sometimes, doe I feare it euen of thee ; if euer y^e bloude and flyme of these sadd dayes should caste upp a noysome broode, in various shapes, to vex and sting thee, and thou should'st be in high estate of trusfe, (where-to, if these troubles shall continue, and *God* spare thee, indede thou shalt be, *Cromwel,*) thou mayest be led, euen thou, (pardon me, for I would fayne hope better,) to cloke thyselfe, awhyle, unworthyelie. Beware of that. Albeit thou mightest see therein, perchance, a waye to gayn aduantage ouer base and fraudfull mindes, euen at the uerie weaponns they shall haue forged to ruine thee; and, thus, (thō not with y^e “dammees” and “*God’s Curse*” of y^e *Cavaleeres*, nor with the covert designes of another forte of menn I coulde name, wolues in sheepe’s clothinge, yett after another fashionn,) take His name in vayne. Such were a Crafte, unworthye of y^e Cause and Thee. Soe would it turne y^e harte of manie a worthye mann agaynst thee,

and clokeing
of fayre de-
signes.

Other wayes
of taking
God’s name
in uayne, be-
sides y^e
“dammees”
and “*God’s*
Curse” of y^e
Cavaleeres.

thee, and thy latter dayes be brought into discomforde. Seruing y^e *Lorde* in truth, lett thy seruice be alwaye cleare in worde, and acte al-soe; giuing an ensample of plaine dealing and plaine speakinge, in like sorte, to them that followe thee. Praye hartilye for “*God* with us,” and reere y^e bannere whereonn it is writt before y^e people. But make not His gyftes and grace an argument of boasting Vanitye among them, nor of Jeste among our enemyes. Agayne pardonn me, good Cosen.”

Colonel
Cromwel
speaketh.

Make not
your cards
manifest unto
y^e aduersarye.

Cromwel. “Well preached, *Jack*. And nowe, I praye thee, see, in fewe wordes, which in dede doe suite me best, (for I haue not y^e gyfte to dresse upp doctrines in theyre best apparell,) see what that would leade to which thou doft aduise; and where perchance all at y^e table with Us play not fayre. This, and noe lesse. To shewe y^e inmoste counsells and secretest endes, conceaued for y^e publique good within our hartes, to all men, (the more pretious still

y^e

y^e stake we doe contende for, y^e more openlie,) and to him who playes y^e wager out agaynst Us crying “ Aboue boarde I, and noe dissimulationn,” whilst he slipps y^e cards, and cogges y^e dice. Soe should’st thou be a hopefull gamester. Noe, *Jack*, I warrant thee, thou would’st not be that bubble. Nor art thou. Albeit thy Speech, nowe made, be full of unctionn, and truelye leaueth not easie holde for anie *Jacob* to wrestle with.”

Speciallye not
unto y^e cog-
ging sharper.

Hampden. “ If by Dissimulationn thou doſt understande in dede referue, or a cloking of meanes not fitt for common canuaffe or handling of all menn, I grant thee. Such is but to shunn y^e uncouering of the nakedneſſe, thou ſhould’ſt reſpecte, of ſecrete Truth before y^e prying gaze of all scoffers; of all y^e vulgar, and all y^e deſigning. Such Diffimulationn ſhould be uſed, as onelie to auoyd impertinence, and in league ſtill with honeſtye, as with diſcretionn; Simulationn neuer; by the which, in dede, a man may

Colonell
Hampden
ſpeaketh.

Simulationn
and Diffimula-
tionn plainlye
and worthilye
diſtinguished.

may thinke to serue his countrye, but a true man would not choose to saue her. For, soe, would he lose himselfe. These be practises begotten of Tyranny on Feare. Name but y^e parents, and, sure, y^e offspring neuer cann be entartayned by thos who haue stripped off y^e bondisman's cloke, to wrestle in y^e Athletick Garb for Libertye."

Colonell
Cromwel
speaketh.

Cromwel. "Verilye, Cosen, thy wordes doe refreshe y^e eare, euen as y^e dewe on y^e drye herbe. But yet resolute me this; as thirsting for y^e water brookes of knowledg, that cometh of Truth. I doe remember, *Jack*, that, once, thou did'st discourse, to our much edificationn, when y^e five were brought in questionn, at Westminster; touching y^e difference betwene a good subiecte and a badd. Somewhat in this forte, then, we heard. That *to denye lawfull obedience to a King, in his owne personn, and his commandes in Priuie Council, or to denye to defende his Royall Priuiledge and Prerogatiue,* (with

Twitteth
Master *Hampden* with y^e
remembrance
of his discrete
and learned
speech on y^e
case of y^e
Fiu Members,
1641.
Imprinted for

(with some more to y^e like effecte,) is a signe of a badd subje^cte. How is this? Had not y^e King, I praye thee, commanded, (ay, and in Priuie Counsell too,) the leauie of y^e Shippe Moneye? Nay, afterwarde, did he not clayme, of anciente priuiledge and prerogatiue, to dis- solue his *Parliaments* at pleasure, and require y^e sole commandemente of y^e Armie, as a guard^e, not onelie to himselfe, but *Parliament*? Againe, was it y^e King's pleasure to annull y^e powers of Conuocationn, or Starre Chamber, or High Commissionn Courte, or to dischardge his Peeres Spirituall frō y^e upper House, sitting there as of anciente right? And, last, did he withholde his inhibitionn frō y^e ordinance for raysing y^e militia of y^e Countyes, or his proclaiming of thee, and me, and euerie Roundhedd of Us all, nowe at y^s worke, as traytours therefor to his personn and gouernment? Thou art a good subje^cte and a true, *John Hampden*. Yett resolute me these things, I praye, and how they doe fadge with thy definitionn thenn layd downe. Was it

F. Coules and
J. B. at y^e
Fighting
Cockes.
Quod Vide.

And question-
neth him as
to y^e accord-
ance of his
actionns
therewith.

it but a beseeming cloke for y^e nakednesse of those good purposes thereafter more openlie declared in y^e Bishopp's Bill, y^e Roote and Branche, y^e Great Remonstrance, y^e Nineteen Propositionns, and y^e mustering of y^e quotas of three Countyes upponn *Chalgrauue* field? I am thy suitore for a warrantye to make this, thy foregone doctrine, (for simulationn thou doft in euerie case eschew,) jumpe with thy later, of righteous disobedience towarde gouernours."

Colonell
Hampden
speaketh.

Entreateth
that his
wordes be
whollye re-
called, if at
all.

Hampden. "Disobedience to Gouernours, good cosen, is noe worde of mine; noe, nor a^cte neither, as I do beleive. The Gouerne-mente of this Lande, in my poore judgemente, doth confiste of *King* and *Parliament*. And soe haue I sayd, and neuer otherwise. And, sure, you will not conceaue it arrogance in me, if, when you doe so farr honnoure me as to recalle things deliuered, not inconsideratelye, by me, I would wishe them recalled in noe other termes but those in which indeede they felle frō mee;

mee; and not omitting some which, when I uttered them, I deemed to be of some momente. Remember, praye, I added alwaye y^e worde "lawfull," to qualifie "submissionn to commandes;" with these allsoe; *good affectionn to y^e safetye, and juste rightes of y^e people, according to y^e anciente and fundamentall lawes of y^e realme, and with y^e free consente of y^e Greate Counsell of y^e State, assembled in Parliament.* I doe, allsoe, remember, at y^e same time, to haue sayd, as in dede I yett would saye, (how-
ever contrarious haue bin y^e late passages of this war, or maye be those to come, to Us,) *To denye obedience to a King, commanding anie thing agaynst God's true worshipp and religionn, or agaynst y^e anciente and fundamentall lawes of y^e lande, in endeauouring to performe y^e same, is y^e dutye of a good subiecte.* Nor can I see anie simulationn, noe nor euen dissembled purpose, in these doctrines, if I, neuerthelesse, withstande y^e leauie of an unlawfull taxe; or, afterwarde, (up-
on y^e instante perill of a dissolutionn penallye to

"Obedience"
qualifie by
y^e worde
"lawfull."

Alsoe "affec-
tionn to y^e
just rightes of
y^e people,"
&c.

Alsoe when to
be refisted.

Justifyeth y^e
conformatie of
his actes with
y^e sayd speech.

Which y^e
aggressoure,
King or Par-
liament?

All vindica-
tionn resteth
hereonn.

to be enforced as on manie former occasionns with intente to rayse supplyes contrarye to lawe,) doe giue my vote for declaring y^e presente *parliament* indissoluble saue with its owne confente. Which of y^e twain it was, His Majestie or *Parliament*, that firste begann y^e struggle of Priuiledg, or which to mayntaine y^e fundamentall lawes of y^e lande, posteritie shall judge; for, of necessitye, onn this must reste all vindicationn of y^e posture wherein now we stande. In like manner doe I justifie y^e clayming of y^e militia to *Parliament* as a guarde to y^e fame, when *Digbye* and *Lunnsforde* were at the doores under y^e King's Commissionn, with prætexte in dede to guarde, but with purpose, as We knowe, to bring Us under duresse. I praye you, witnesse for me, Cosen *Oliver*, in all oure communings together, I neuer spake as an ill wisher to y^e King, or in rebellionn to his just and lawefull authoritye. I wishe him well ridd of his euill counsellours; and, to y^e lafte, yea euen to extreamest force, (since force hath bin

putt

putt upponn Us,) would striue to breake in peeces y^e cuppe they haue rayfed to his lippes; that cuppe, of which they haue drenched themmselues to maddnesse, till, in theire ex-cessse, they haue well nighe ouerthrowne all righte, goode manners, and all lawe sett upp to be a fence of Libertye within this realme.

I neuer was agaynst y^e Religionn establish-edd in y^s lande, *according to y^e truth of God*, (for such were, I thinke, my wordes;) noe, notwithstanding your pleasante quiddetts touch-ing *Bishopp's* Bill, and Root and Branche. In y^e moste parte, I thinke it's doctrines good, and conformable to *God* his worde, in holie writt sett downe; albeit I cannot awaye with y^e Pride and Worldlynesse of *Bishopps*, and would putt them forth, by Lawe, from all secularr concernementes. I doe rejecte theire “*Jus Diuinum*,” and “*et cætera Oath*,” and utterlye abhominate y^e tenetts soe unscripturally urged before y^e late *King James*, in thatt fadd conference at *Hampton Courte*, and

Yea. They
were.

Churche in
y^s lande esta-
blishedd.
Good, as far
as doctrinall,
for y^e moste
parte.

Butt *Bishopps*
to be curbed.

“*Jus Diuinum*,” and
“*et cætera
oath*.”

in

The fathers
haue eaten
soure grapes,
and y^e chil-
dren's teeth
are sett onn
edg.

Monarchie
made for y^e
comon-
wealthe; not
y^e comon-
wealthe for it.

Hopefull and
comfortable
wordes of
Englannde, as
she maye one
daye be. And
soe I praye.

in which His Majestie, that now is, hath bin, to his greate prejudice, brought upp. Herein I was with y^e good *Falklande*, (now in this war unhappilye agaynst Us,) and with more circumspete, but lesse uprighte, *Hyde*.

I reuerence y^e office of *King* in *Englannde*. I beleiuе it notto be aniewhere enjoyned by comande of *God*, nor yett embued, as Bishopp *Neile* did once ungodlilye declare, “with some sparkles of his diuinitie;” but to be a worthye engine, notwithstanding, for good gouernement; like euerye good engine, profitable onelie when worthilye administered, and within y^e sure safegarde of acknowledged lawe. Such Monarchie it was oure *Saxonn* Ancestours established within this *Islande*. Such are we bounden to preserue it; aye, and conformablye too, as changes and requirements of Time in its progresse shall demande. And such I hope that after ages in this lande maye see it, much amended in it's anciente purpose stil; and fitting itselfe well and gentlye for y^e weale of a people

people who shall be stronger in that knowledg which cometh of healthie experience than we be. Such hope haue I and cheerfull confidence in things to come; wherein I sometimes figure forth to myselfe this oure *Englande* as she shall, one daye, be. These things, in fine, which I haue layd before you, are what did, furthermore, moste fullye justifie y^e publishing of y^e Ordinance, and mustering, as thou sayest, of y^e quotas of three Countyes, onn *Chalgraue*, where y^e Sunn is now setting, there, belowe *Bledlowe Ridge*. And, euen thenn, I did inwardlye acknowledg that worke to be soe righteous, as y^e thoughte hath often since bin presente with me, *Oliuer*, that noe where could a mann beare more joyfull testimonie to it, if neede were, with his bloude, than onn that verie grounde where firste he did engage himselfe therein.

Nor am I withoute respecte personall towarde his Majestie. Braue he is; and pious; of good partes of learning; aye, and stored with all quallityes that best become a gentlemann; if we

A propheticall
thoughte;
soone, alacke,
and faddlye
fullfilled.

we excepte, indeede, (as, unhappilye wee muste,) what should be euer foremoste in true gentillitie; trusteworthynesse, and uprighte dealing.

His Ma^{tie}
verie forelie
distempered
with King
crafte.

This wante hath euer bin a fore hindrance to him; and, thrō him, to all whose dutye and good affectionns might mooste aduantage him. Kinge-crafte is a sorrie staffe, commended to him by an unworthye father. A broken reede it is; one daye to shrewdlye pierce y^e poore hande that leaneth onn it. His arbitrarye stubbornnesse is not that which mooste I reprehend; althō to be opposed. His distaste shewne towarde free *Parliaments*; his calling of them but as purveyors to the cupiditie and waste of worthlesse seruantes, at y^e poore people's coste, by undue Aydes, and, falselye termed, Benevolences; his wrathfull bickerings with those *Parliaments* when mett; scattering them agayne with y^e breth of his mouth, when they spake of grieuances to be redressed; his gouerning withoute *Parliaments*, and agaynst Lawe; his imprisonnments, "per ipsum Regem," of those

he

he was pleased to deem but as stumbling blockes in the pathe of his proceedings with his *Parliaments*; nay his leauie of y^e Shippe Moneye, albeit onn y^s verie grounde onn which we stande I did resiste it, and soe would doe agayne; nay euen his intemperate and lawlesse entering of y^e *House of Commons*, with his *Germann* Cosen in harnesse by his side, and y^e armed rabble of *Lunnsforde* at his heeles; euen these thinges, thō intollerable, are not what haue brought Us to y^e presente issue with him. Had he kept fayth, or shewne defyre to keepe it; such fayth as euen from an enemye sholde passe with menn for safe conducte thrō y^e worlde; nay, (for heere was y^e worste,) had he not entered into treatyes of solemne engagement with Us, on diuers occasionns, as maye abundantlye be shewne, with alreadye formed purpose to undoe us thrō our truste in themm, we had neuer bin forced to this fadd arbitrement of armes. Witnesse his assente to y^e Greate Petitionn of Righte, freely proffered and

King not
trustewor-
thye.

and accepted, soone to be left upponn oure Journalls, but as a monument of uayne reliance, openlye and moste dishonnouringly betrayed; whenn professing peace onn his integritie and Royall oath in pledge to Us, his seizing upponn y^e garrisonns held in stipulationn for Us, and sending of Commissioners to laye handes upponn y^e pouder of y^e Countyes; his assurance giuen of abyding neere his *Parliament* for accomo-
dationn, but to gayne occasionn to flee to *Yorke*, to calle together a junto of seceding members, soone to be called by y^e name of a *Parliament*, antagoniste to that which he had confirmed by statute at *Westminster*, and beckonn thither his runawaye *Lorde Keeper*, with y^e greate seale to be affixed to Actes hauing noe forme or sem-
blance of Lawe; and, lastlye, proclayming as Traytors thofe whom he had, at sundrie times, inuited to treaty, he rayfes his standarde, un-
der which, diuided agaynst itfelfe, one parte of y^e Supreme Power of y^e realme doth drawe y^e fworde upponn y^e other.

Alacke

Alacke for y^e streights into which such practices haue driuen Us, whenn y^e worde of a *Prince* cann noe longer suffice as hostage for his actes, and noe safetie remayneth, til his children, and all he hath, be placed in oure handes. Free truste, *Cromwel*, unchecked, is as a fayre streame, running a smooth course ouer manie thinges rough and contrarious, which stil, left farr beneath, breake not nor soyle it; but, estopped and stiled upp, it turneth backwarde, (stayned much with y^e hue of what hath bin rudelye caste in it's waye,) to drowne y^e fountaine hedd.

Naye, warr ittselfe he hath not waged as one who, with hope finallye to staunche y^e wounde, will faythfullye keepe termes of temporarye truce, admitted for proposalls of Peace. Witnesse his aduance uppon our weakened postes at *Brainforde*, during a cessation and treatye, agreed to with all formallityes by himselfe."

Attack onn
Brainforde,
during a ceffa-
tionn.

Cromwel. "Ay, cosen, meethoughte you were a tending thitherwarde. That morning's draught
of

Colonell
Cromwel
speaketh.

of *Thames* water was of unsauorie taste, and not a little bitter of remembrance, I warante, to those soe constrainyd to learne y^e true worth of y^e Kinglye worde they helde in pawne."

Colonell
Hampden
speaketh.

of whom were
Serjeant
Major
Quarles, and
Captaine
Lacy, and
manie poore
Souldiers of
y^e meaner
forte.

Hampden. "I tasted it not, Colonell *Cromwel*. If I had, as did in dede manye a braue souldier onn that daye, your poore cosen and seruante hadd, in all likelyehood, not nowe bin at your side, to trouble you with this discourse. Noe; we were in jeopardy; and manie forced by y^e fworde into y^e sedges and y^e water, there todrowne. But yett none fled, cosen. We stode itt out, by *God's* helpe, and, with much adoe, made it good, (*Hollis* and we,) until oure frendes frō *London* came to oure releife. Nor were we left soe scante of breth, by choking duste, and blafte of artillerie, (and *Thames* water too, since you will haue it soe,) but we coulde yett followe y^e enemye a pretty space thrō *Kingstonn*, and sing a psalme of joye, with thanksgiuing, when

y^e

y^e deliuerance was assured, and y^e daye oure owne.”

Cromwel. “ Nowe pardonn mee. I haue offended; and knowingelye. In verie truth I did but dallye with you. You spake a good worde in that you sayd y^e fadd inconstancye of that weake Vessell, *Charles*, (fayling y^e destructionn he doth intende,) is like to worke his owne. In this lyeth y^e verie marrowe of oure strengthe; which yett, if rudelye touched, wolde bring a palfye, where inwardlye it doth nowe inuigourate and nourrishe all oure motionns. I thanke y^e *Lorde*, we cann noe longer treate with him; euen if we wolde. To whattsoever termes we nowe might bring him, euen grante him vanquishedd, securitye there is none for Us. Knowe ye not y^e saying of y^e wise man? “ Woe to him that lendeth his eare to y^e euill one, or stretcheth out his hande to y^e tempter;” whoe doth proffer his good thinges, euer with this notable advantage; Treatye made, and controuersie ended,

power

Colonell
Cromwel
speaketh.

Worthye saying of a King of Sparta.

power returneth to him. Soe he taketh backe all he granted; aye and y^e mann, too, bodie and soule; to his undoing. Well was it sayd by y^e *Spartann King* to him of *Perisia*, (Paganis both,) "Nowe, thankes to *Tissaphernes*; for he hath placed y^e *Gods* onn oure fide."

Thou hast taen to thyselfe a good mottoe, *Jack*. And well it fitts oure conditionn, nowe. "Noe steppe backwarde." And this suffer me to adde, frō the *Psalmiste*, "Lett y^e prayses of *God* be in oure mouthe; and in oure handes a two edged sworde." Nowe, truelye, thou art a prudente mann, hauing a tongue of readye witt; aye, and a *God*-serving Christiann; and a stoute souldier, with a readye hande too, on occasionn; fighting alwaye in y^e bondes of y^e *Lorde*, and of His Grace. But, (let me stande excused nowe,) thou art somewhat ouermuch a booke man, *John Hampden*. Taking *God's* worde, indeede, for Doctrine. Good. They that doe soe shall neuer fayl. It is, of a truth, y^e abuttresse of oure Temple. But you take your *Plato* for Policie,

Reprehendeth
Colonell
Hampden, as
ouermuch a
booke man.

Policie, and your *Dauila* as your *Vade Mecum* for y^e conducte of a war like this. And this, I doubt, shall ensue. After ye shall haue serued seuen yeare for y^e *Rachel* of your hope, ye shall finde youre selfe, at y^e ende, beguiled with a *Leah* you affecte not. It is, (still pardonn me,) a fande specke euer in your eye. Wipe it oute Mann. A nationn's worke was neuer well done twice in y^e same waye. Truste to youre owne good brayn for meanes; and, for y^e endes, looke not to what hath bin done aforetime. It muste be nowe after a fashionn of oure owne. Putt not thy good judgemente in thrall, noe, nor thy conducte neyther, nor y^e reuerende esteeme in which all men holde thee, to those of anie Comittee, or of anie mann; be he a *Lorde Generall*; or what thou wilt. I speake of noe mann in particularr. Let him be *Præses*, not *Princeps*; *Dux*, not *Imperator*. And, peraduenture, but a scurye *Præses*, after all."

Lorde Generall, to be
Præses, not
Princeps.

Hampden. "Cosen, excuse me, praye, if I
doe

Colonell
Hampden
speaketh.

doe interrupte you here. We speake of discipline, and obedience, in our hoste. Each mann to him whoe, by y^e consentement of oure lawfull gouernours, shall be deemed worthye of autheritie. Let Us be euer firste to giue ensample in ourselues of what we doe enjoyn to others. But, in what fell frō you before, you doe conclude of me unjustlye, Cosen; euen in your loue and zeale for me. Belieue mee, I reade not *Plato*, nor *Dauila*, nor euer did I, for instructionns in Policie or War; but y^e one for a warning historye of euill times, in some things like to these; times of euill machinationn, kinsmann, and of fadd violence, that did distracte, and goe nighe to ruine, a mightye Comonwealthe, restored by a mann y^e like of whom, thō he had heinouffe and unpardonable faultes, (*Henrye of Nauarre*,) 'twere well if these our times hadd caste upp to y^e head of our affayres.

But enough of bookes. I haue loued them; and could loue them still; nay in my time haue payd some court among y^e playfullest of them

Excuseth
hymselfe as a
booke man.

them all; haue basked in y^e sunnshine of this once in dede my happye home, with much delighte, euen among y^e swete flowers of peacefull poesy; and, thō some are gone whoe made these things y^e dearest to me, could doe soe agayn; accounting them among y^e best remayning pleasures of a reasonnable mann's repose. But, in this rough seafonn, Cosen, when y^e windes be out, and tempests rageing rounde, what has a mann to doe but cast his anchor in y^e strong holding grounde of dutye; and, (strikeing all his pleasant topp gear, and gaw-dye streamers of delighte,) like y^e gallant shippe, swing round to fronte both blaste of storme and streme of tide, now pouring in upon y^e harbour of his reste and anciente righte? Noe. I buckled not on this breastplate as a reading garb for y^e studye. *God* knoweth with how sore reluctancie I tooke it; but without sense of reproache. I beleive I am not extreme of purpose. I yett despaire not (hauing better hope in this than thou hast, *Cromwel*,) to gayn suretye for y^e free

*Pax quæritur
Bello.*

free customes and prerogatiues which belong by statute to y^e people of this realme. “*Pax quæritur Bello.*” Else, sure, we fighte withoute an ende. I knowe this; that I doe abhorr War; aboue all, “*summum nefas,*” ciuill War. And, sure, how faddlye doth it argue of y^e fallen state of man that, throughoute y^e high Catalogue of all y^e greate and worthye which Historye doth giue, y^e greater parte thereof hath bin furnished to her by Warr; to Historye, which is indede y^e nurſing mother of all Ciuill Knowledge, by Warr, which is the mighty antagoniste and disturber thereof. It is y^e greatest of calamityes, euen when for Freedome; thō a glorious one. But, frō y^e houre when noe securitye cann more be had for Freedome, saue what may arife to y^e *Parliament* from succeſſe in Armes, and be guarded theire’s by power manifeſte; frō that houre noe retreate and noe remiſſionn. Puttforwarde, then, with that fiercenesse whereby this unnaturall contentionn may be fooneſt made to ceaſe; and ſome noteable succeſſe may, thō *God his bleſſing,*

Strive to esta-
bliſhe Peace,
and laſting
treatye, by
ſucceſſe.

sing, be wroughte, as may be guarrantye for lasting accomodationn. Nay more will I saye. I doe beleive there be certayne, euen of y^e aduerse partye, who, frendes stil of Libertye, in harte, but scared at what they falselye deeme a takeing upp of armes agaynst y^e King's personn, (for amongst y^e greatest miseryes of such a Warr is euer this, that good menn may, by but a small bias in y^e ballance of theire dutyes, be brought in mortall conflicte, each with other,) haue entered onn y^s tryall as fiercelye as we; out of which, (vayne expectationn,) they may hope themmselues to be instrumentes for y^e winning of termes from him they follow, for better gouernement, according to Lawe. To Us remayneth but to recouer, if may be, the time we lost in trusting him whyle in his pride of power. To y^e pointe thenn. It seemeth to me, (and here I doe agree with you,) muche time is stil ill spent in y^e directing of a Warr by a comittee sitting at *Westminster*; thō worthye menn. To guide y^e motionns of a warr, there is not wisedome in a multitude

Some, on y^e
aduerse
partye, of a
like notionn.

In y^e multi-
tude of coun-
sellours, nott
wisedome, as

True and faythfull Relationn

multitude of counsellours. There must euer be one hedd, not manie; and that hedd too at distance of not manie houres frō y^e thing maynlie and most instantlye in hande. Here haue y^e enemye a manifest aduantage ouer Us. Thenn are We not onelie cast among a diuersitie of opinionns, but into dealing not unfrequentlie with doubtfull and with doubted frendes; whose helpe, indede, might auayle Us much, but who might, in false play, worke y^e utmost prejudice unto Us. It is not all now at this worke, Cosen, who haue entered onn it with y^e selfe same minde; as touching Libertie of Conscience, and y^e best meanes whereby to keepe it sure. Some speake Us fayre; yet in a double sence; whose endes be at cleane difference with our's; nay, I might say contrarious."

Colonell
Cromwel
speaketh.

Cromwel. "Ay, there thou haft it, mann; in y^e verie cloute, at twelue score. Thou haft shott thy bolt aright; euen across *Tweed* River. Nowe, a worde of those who be partlye with Us; partlye

lye agaynst. A worde, Cosen, of y^e *Scotts*; of whom you spake erewhile. A power they be, in sooth, to deale with tenderlye; and little more trusteworthye thann the *Kings* they gau^e Us. 'Twere a fond hope that they will striue to helpe Us, further thann may fitt their owne particularl^r designes; the which once gained, they will pr^{es}entlye abandonn, nay, not unlike, oppose Us. Witnesse their earlye entertainement of y^e *King's* propofalls, bare twelue months agoe to them, to moue that armie to his ayd which first was rayfed agaynst him in y^e *Bishopp's* Warr, and was at that time under treatye to disbande; whereof parte fought, after, onn his side, under *Lindsey*, *Stewart*, and *Aubigny*; parte with Us, under *Balfore*, and *Ramsay*; at *Edge Hille*. A wayward forte of cattel true-ly. Proud and stiffe necked are they, whenn aroused; resolute of actionn; dearlye mindfull of aduantage, as of wronge; and wearyfome of purpose; readye alwaye, euen in theire Pride and Stiffenesse, for such compliances as

To his thinking, y^e *Scotts* a waywarde cattel.

as may further it; and, in the verie appetite of falling onn to dinner, thoughtefull euer of whereonn they shall suppe.

Nor are their designes in this prefente matter, (noe nor euer haue bin,) of a like temper or a kin to our's. Of an ouer flowing Zeale for y^e freedom of theire owne Church, and of such as be of a tender conscience therein; not carnall minded; but verie hierarchs in their disrelyshe of y^e doctrine termed by them State Puritann; and curious and unrelenting to fitt y^e limbes of all to y^e *Procrustes'* bedd of their owne choice and fashionn. Tyrannie of Surplice or Tyrannie of Synod is, to my poore apprehensionn, y^e onelie questionn at oddes, as regardeth Church Authoritie and Libertye of Worshipp, betwene themm and Formaliste or flatt Arminian.

For y^e reste, trusste themm not, if but a bushe or road side banke be betwene ye. *Montrose* was with Us; and *Balfour*. *Urrie* too. Where be they nowe? But these “*oure good Brethren,*”

renn," thou knowest themm, *John Hampden*; and, in thy comiſſions with themm, haſt had good cauſe; euen better than I; and haſt, I warrante, noe verie diſſerent judgement. And, before long, Young *Vane*, wary and ſtedfaſte thō he be of purpose, ſhall knowe themm better thann now he doth. And truelye that nationn ſhall, (if y^e *Lorde* but proſper y^e worke on foote there,) be a gaynfull helpmate to Us; for a ſpace.

I babble of theſe things, and, peraduenture all too freelye, to Thee. But manie thinges there be, both ciuill and eccleſiaſticall, that doe lack uentillation; or, like an old rayment lying too long in y^e foldes, they ſhall be found maruellous thredd bare and unsauourie, whenn brought to uſe. Now he were but a ſcurvye publiciſte who, hungrye after formes, would bring y^e ſuſtance into jeopardye, and, belike, euen as y^e dogge of *Æſopus*, in y^e ende, loſe both.

And why faye I this, and wander unto mat-
ters

Speaketh
doubtfullye of
Parliaments.

ters wide of that which presseth? I knowe not. Often in verie opennesse with Thee I commune, as it were with myselfe, aloude, onn such thoughts as oftentimes I ponder, yea with much disquiett, in y^e night seafonn. What shall we doe but seek y^e *Lorde* in all things? As Thou haft truely phrazed it, *John*, one hedd there must be, not manie. And what is *Parliament* it selfe, the hedd of all, what is it now, I pray ye, but a forme; which, (rayfed, by y^e arm of fleshe, most worthilye, and soe upheld,) thosse who soe rayfed and doe uphold it, (according to the Spiritt which is from aboue, and by generall consentment of honeste and godlie menn venturing their liues in defence thereof,) haue power, in all righteousnesse, if for y^e Comonwealth's aduantage, to bring into disfeasance? Yea, euen as y^e chosen of *Israel*, standing in y^e strengthe and feare of y^e *Lorde*, did putt forth euill menn, that they might noe more rule ouer y^e fame. We be, in this, as in all things, but as young Childrenn; arrowes in y^e hande of y^e Giant;

Giant; yea as y^e strong mann's bowe ; buxome onelie to y^e purposes of y^e Comōnwealthe; whose seruantes in dede we be ; and none other's."

Hampden. Seruantes of y^e Comōnwealthe onelie ; and *Parliaments* but a forme? Go to, nowe. This is but to try my foolishnesse. Nay, thou must beare with me; and pardonn y^e freedome of him who loues you, (and none knoweth it better thann thou doſt, Cofen *Oliver.*) As I haue euer considered it, we entered not onn these high matters as seruantes of a Comōnwealthe; but as striuing to walke in y^e wayes of Justice and free Truth; and, if it be granted to Us, by furthering *God's* worke among his people, to serue, I grante ye, y^e Comōnwealthe in y^e ſecond degree; but, thrō *God*, for his Truth, firſte; for Justice, and Liberty's and Conſcience' ſake. And where, I pray you, Kinsmann, where, after our inwarde conſciousnesſe of *God's* Truth, which is aboue all, where cann we ſoe well ſeeke directionn in applying it unto y^e publique ſeruice

Colonell
Hampden
ſpeaketh.

Not ſeruantes
of a Comōn
wealthe; but
of *God* in his
worke.

What are
Parliaments?

uice as under y^e controul of a *Parliament*, free-
lye chosen by y^e people to administer that
truste? What are *Parliaments*? Summoned
they were, in theire originall, by y^e King's writt,
onelie that they might render y^e taillage, and
other imposts granted unto him, as it were a
free acte of y^e Nationn, and, soe, more popularr
and easie of leauie. But they did come, after
a time, and by manie steppes, to be a reall safe-
guarde to the Nationn, to impose theire coun-
sell and controul upon him as conditionns
before y^e granting of y^e fame; stablishing thus
a systeme of priuiledge, to hedge round other
publique rightes alsoe, farr dearer thann those of
moneye, since become undoubted; the which
noe power can fittlye be trusted to mayntaine,
saue onelie that whose feede and produce they
truelie are; euен y^e power of an assemblye
chosen freelye of y^e people; withoute which
there is noe Lawe.

Judges make not Lawe; nor doth y^e Lawe
live and breathe in them alone. For they may
be

be corrupte or arbitrarye. Juries make it not; norr doth it live and breathe in themm alone. For they may be swayed by prætexte of authortie, or curbed by tyrannye of office. Armies; *God forbidd* they ever should be makers or indoctrinators thereof; or other than it's bounden subjectes; or that they should houlde theire verie being on anie other thannye will and voice of *Parliament*. For, soe, should y^e last state be worse than y^e firste. A falselye termed Democracie; ruled by succeſſe of one Mann's crafte and boldnesſe; or, more intollerable ſtil, by ungouerned violence of manie. Calle not thenn, I beſeech you, *Parliament* a forme.

And what is a Comonwealthe? Resolute me. It is y^e weale, You may tell me, and truelye, of that Nationn whereof We are. Yett You doe, herein, but postpone y^e pinche and shrewd ſtrefſe of y^e queſtioneſſe; meanwhile trauelling rounde, as y^e ſchoolmen ſay, in a circle. What is y^e weale? *Ariſtoteles* of *Stagyra* ſayd, and truelye, Happineſſe is the Weale. But, me-thinkes,

Reprehendeth
Maſter Crom-
wel, in that he
called Parlia-
ments a forme.

What is a
Comon-
wealthe?

thinkes, he hardlye escaped frō y^e circle, *idem per idem*, in bringing this under definitionn. “An Energey of y^e minde,” sayd he, “in accordance to Virtue; and within such limitts as a wise mann shall impose.” Manie wordes; and applicable to what systeme a mann will. Some haue sayd, “The greatest welfare of y^e greatest number.” Yet suffer mee to pause before I giue this my entire consentement. The greatest number will be found to be the most at odds in this. The Moraliste shall finde this greatest welfare in a Sense of Righte. The Philosopher in that of Knowledg. The Covetous, or Ambitious, in Riches, or in Power. The poore Hindes, and that Handycrafte sorte, (such as surround Us onn these hilles, and whom *God* forbid I should call y^e baser sorte, for they are y^e greater parte of my fellowe menn,) would finde it in Plentye and Ease. But, surelye, to shorten such dispute of termes, that maye well be called y^e Comōnweale that bindeth together both good and badd, wise and foolishe, in such a bond

a bond as shall be for y^e contentment of good menn, and encouragement of prudent; for y^e restrayning of badd, and directing of foolish ones.

Such a systeme We musteendeauour for. And where, I repeate, shall We better hope to finde it secured thann in the inqueste of a free *Parliament*? But who are y^e good and prudent, to be thus aduantaged, Cosen *Oliuer*? Are they y^e major parte of those for whose weale We haue toyled, and are nowe in Armes? I hope, ay hartilye, y^e issue may proue it soe.

Meanwhile, serue a higher Master thann a Comonwealthe, good kinsman. Nay, I belieue Thou doft, in harte. Putt onny^e Armour of His Truth, after much seeking. Striue to stablishe His glorye, His Worde, His Seruice “whose seruice is perfect freedome.” If We cannot preuail in it, let Us alwaye be readye to die for it; and in our liues, and at our deaths, as better menn in tryalls more fierye haue bin found to doe before Us, kindle a torche of light for future ages.

Marke this
well.

ages. Peace, if peace may be with Libertye; But, in all euent, Libertye. Both to be, under God, best secured, as my belief is, by free Priuiledg and Power of *Parliaments*. The which there neuer would come a time, as I truste, when You or I would not defend, euen unto bloude, from anie mann who would giue it ouer to y^e dominionn of an armie, bound in oathe and dutye to defend it, and being, if engaged any otherwise than under it's controul, a band but of armed outlawes, and it's cheife a traytoure. Thinke then but of one thing nowe; y^e generall safetie, which hangeth on this cause; and how best to ensure it, by y^e best unionn and discipline. Pursue this with vigoure; and manfullye. In this, as I doe beleive in all oure endes, we haue bin of a like Counsell together. Noe delaye of what is in hande. And this verie agreement doth reminde Us that, for a while, Wee now shoulde parte. Houlde it not want of hospitalitye in me to say soe onn mine own ground. In better times We maye meet here agayne. I hope

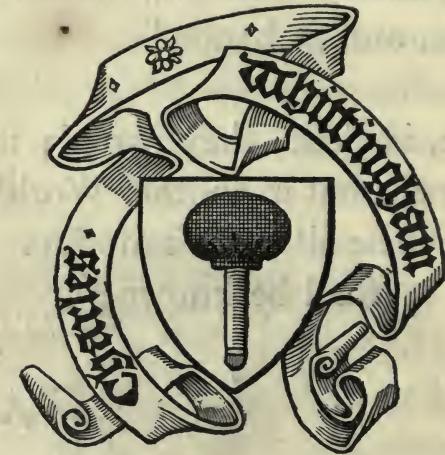
we

we may. But y^e time presseth; and y^e setting
funn hath soe aduised me. I must visitt y^e
quarters about *Tetsworth* and *Stoken-church*,
farr hence, to-night; and, in y^e morninge, at-
tende onn y^e *Lorde Generall* at *Thame*. You
are for y^e North. I see our horses comming
hitherwarde, and at hande."

And soe, in dede, they parted; to meet
agayne; but in another Worlde;
where all menn's motiues
shall be knowne.



FINIS.



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